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Solomon) to greet its first appearance. It is even more pleasant to find the doctrine in the Psalter, the devotional Encheiridion among the Biblical books, and reclaimed there for those Psalms in which from childhood we were taught to seek it.

My analysis of the Bampton Lectures has spread to greater length than I had at first intended, and I have no space to call attention to any of the numerous subsidiary points of interest scattered throughout the book. In conclusion I would only indicate, as is but just in the pages of a Jewish magazine, the full knowledge shown by Prof. Cheyne of the researches of modern Jewish scholars. A glance at the Index reveals the names of Castelli, Derenbourg, Frankl, Freudenthal, Geiger, Golziher, Graetz, Halévy, Joel, Jost, Kalisch, Kohut, Krochmal, Neubauer, Sachs and Zunz, some of whom are repeatedly quoted in Prof. Cheyne's pages. Lastly, treading for one moment upon dangerous ground, I should like to ask unprejudiced Jewish readers of Prof. Cheyne's book to a careful consideration of the three opening paragraphs of the seventh Lecture. I have above quoted the closing words of the same lecture as an illustration of the author's candour and sympathy on a subject which Christian scholars are naturally accustomed to treat in the light of Christian prepossessions. The outset of the lecture may enable Jewish readers to set themselves a lesson in the same essential qualities for the student of religious history. To the great questions opened up by those initial paragraphs I hope, should life be granted me, at some future, even if distant, time to return.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

Santa Caterina, August 11th, 1891.

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### The Jews of Russia.

*Les Juifs de Russie: Recueil d'articles et d'études sur leur situation légale, sociale et économique.* Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf, 1891. Pp. 447. Pr. 3fr. 50c.

M. ISIDORE LOEB, the learned and accomplished secretary of the *Alliance Israélite*, has made a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the Russo-Jewish question in this volume. The work is partly original, and partly a compendium of the chief articles that have already appeared on the subject. Some of these are translations of well-known English essays and pamphlets, as E. B. Lanin's famous *Fortnightly* article, "The Jews in Russia"; *Blackwood's* article on "The Czar and the Jews"; the Russo-Jewish Committee's pamphlet on "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia"; the report of the Man-

sion House meeting, and extracts from the *Times* article of October 9th and 13th, 1890, on "The New Laws against the Jews," and from the *Daily Telegraph* article of August 4th, 1890, on "The Jews of Russia." Upon these there is no necessity to comment, as they are all familiar to the English reader; but the remainder of the work, being new to him and of considerable importance, calls for attention in this review.

There is, first, the article of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, on "The New Laws against the Jews," reproduced from the *Journal des Débats* of August 15th, 1890. Few will dissent from the view Beaulieu puts forward as to the nature and source of the antipathy of which the Jewish population of Russia are the objects. It is not, he says, religious fanaticism from which they suffer, but rather "Nationalism"—i.e., the spirit of racial exclusiveness—a sentiment which is fostered for purposes of political aggrandisement. This tendency, which is not altogether peculiar to Russia, is known in Russia as Panslavism, in Germany as Teutonism, in Hungary as Magyarism. It assumes a religious character in Russia because of the identity of Church and State; but its object is really to unify the numerous races which constitute the Russian Empire. The unity of the State is to be promoted by religious unity.

This essay of Beaulieu is followed by another, on "The Russian Jews and their Ghetto," taken from the third volume of the writer's *L'Empire des Tzars et les Russes*, and important for the views it expresses as to the fitness of the Jews for agriculture. He says:—

The Jew, it is true, is not a cultivator. This is just one of the difficulties of the Semitic question in the East of Europe, where, urban life being as yet little developed, agriculture is the great resource of the population. Why has the Jew abandoned the plough for centuries? The whole history of the Jews answers, Because for two thousand years he has been divorced from the soil. The laws themselves have throughout the Middle Ages imprisoned him in the ghetti of towns. But we know that urban populations never return to field labour. The inhabitant of a city never becomes a peasant again. This is a law of history which is only too truly confirmed by all our civilisation and social development. In this respect the Jew is not different from other races. The hard labour of the soil is one of those things to which man never goes back once he has quitted it. The Jew would not even always have the physical force for it. His muscular energy has been enfeebled. His urban life, his confinement in ghetti, have debilitated and anæmiated him for centuries. The military statistics of Russia are proof of this. Proportionately more Jews have to be exempted from service than Russians, Poles, or Lithuanians. A large number of Jews are not of the regulation height, or do not possess the necessary width of chest. The race has suffered too long from that physiological weakness which is the inevitable consequence of economical evils.

If this theory be correct, there must be an end, and a speedy one, to all schemes for establishing agricultural colonies of Jews in the Old

and New Worlds. But surely the Jewish race possesses greater aptitude for such pursuits than Beaulieu gives it credit for. In the case of the Jew, whose very existence after so many centuries of vicissitude is an anomaly which baffles explanation, it is always hazardous to argue on the basis of historical laws. As a matter of fact, the latest and most authentic accounts that have reached us testify strongly to the agricultural capacity of the Jews of Russia. We know how successful Vineland and some other colonies have been in America. And now Mr. Arnold White, who has just been studying the condition of the Russian Jews on the spot, assures us that in the Jewish agricultural colonies of Cherson and Ekaterinoslav there is a population of 30,000 souls subsisting entirely by agriculture. (*Spectator*, July 11th, 1891; *New Review*, August, 1891.)<sup>1</sup>

Interesting as are the contributions of Beaulieu, greater significance must be attached to an essay by Prince Démidoff San Donato, on the Jewish Question in Russia (St. Petersburg, 1883). This essay comprises a most valuable *resumé* of the history of the Jewish Question up to the present time, a brief outline of which, as the subject has never been adequately treated in English, will not be out of place in these pages.

Up to the end of last century, Jews were rigorously excluded from Russia proper, for fear they should convert the masses from Christianity. For this reason it was prohibited in 1676 for Jews to pass from Smoleusk to Moscow, and an order was issued to expel any Jews found in the Ukraine (Little Russia), and other parts of the Empire. A similar ukase was published in 1742, in the reign of Elizabeth. In the following year (1743), it was sought to modify this restriction by representing to the Senate that the presence of Jews in Little Russia and in Riga would be useful to the State. But without effect. The Empress declared that she desired no pecuniary advantage from the enemies of Christ! Her successor, Catherine II., did not dare to relax these laws for fear of displeasing her subjects.

When in 1772 White Russia (Vitebsk, Mohilev and Smolensk) and other Polish and Lithuanian provinces were annexed to Russia, it was found impossible to expel the Jews, who were already settled in large numbers in these regions. Then for the first time it became necessary for the Government to deal with the Jewish Question. The first law which treated of their position was passed in 1786, in the reign of Catherine II. It declared that everyone should enjoy the rights and advantages conformable to his state and position without distinction of religion or nationality. It permitted Jews to join corporations of merchants and trade guilds, and to enjoy equal rights with them, but

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<sup>1</sup> M. Loeb gives some statistics (p. 366) to the same effect.

this was restricted to those provinces which have since been marked out as the Jewish Pale of Settlement. This restriction is formally mentioned in the ukase of 1791. In 1794, Jews who wished to avail themselves of this privilege were ordered to pay double the taxes due from other merchants and workmen. In the reign of Paul II., the same benefits and restriction were extended to Courland, where Jews had resided for 200 years. In 1804, in the reign of Alexander I., a new and important Jewish law was passed, and it evinced strikingly liberal sentiments. It authorised Jews to send their children to public seminaries, and to purchase and rent lands, so that they might devote themselves to agriculture and manufactures. Moreover, it promised to restore single taxation. The exploitation of village inns belonging to Jews was strictly forbidden, and in order to discourage such exploitation, it was decreed that the Jews should be transferred from the villages to the towns. But such transference was matter of no slight difficulty, and in 1808 the Minister of the Interior reported to the Emperor that it would be impossible to carry it into effect without causing the Jews to die of starvation. Accordingly, the same year (December 29th, 1808), the measure was suspended, and in the following year a commission was nominated to advise how the same object might be attained by other means. This commission met under the presidency of Privy-Councillor Popoff, and after sitting for three years issued a report. The report stated that in former times the Jews of Poland, deprived of the right of possessing land and practising agriculture, had come to be employed in different operations by their landlords, and to devote themselves exclusively to commerce and the distillation of spirits. It then proceeded to show what would be the result of transporting the Jews to towns. Drunkenness would not diminish, it being as general in the governments of St. Petersburg, Livonia, and Esthonia, where there were no Jews, as elsewhere. The miserable condition of the peasantry in White Russia was caused by the general state of the country, not by the Jews. In the Governments of the South-West, where Jews resided, the peasants were prosperous. Their removal would therefore only aggravate the position of the peasantry, deprived, as they would then be, of these useful intermediaries in their sales of corn, and purchases of salt and iron. The sale of spirits did not enrich the Jews themselves, but their Christian landlords, from whom they obtained the licence to distil. If the Jews were transported to towns, not being able to find a sufficiency of work, they would die of hunger, or if they obtained work, it could only be at the expense of their co-religionists already settled in the towns. The Commission, therefore, recommended the abrogation of Article 34 of the Ukase of 1804, but the Government contented itself with allowing the article to fall into disuse.

At the same time, several expulsions took place on the application of commercial rivals of the Jews. In 1829, the merchants of the Baltic provinces, in 1846, the blacksmiths of Zitomir, and in 1853, the inhabitants of Kamenetz-Podolski, petitioned for this object. At times such petitions were granted, at times refused. In 1829, even the Karaite Jews were expelled from Trok, though ordinarily this sect has been specially favoured by the Russian Government. In 1838, an enactment was revived, which prohibited Jews from living in the best parts of Wilna. Generally, when their expulsion from a particular place was petitioned for, the report of the local authorities would prove favourable to them. That of Kiev in 1827, *e.g.*, stated that the demands of the merchants were simply inspired by envy. In 1833, the official report asserted that the presence of Jews was useful to the Christian consumer, who paid less for his goods than he would have had to pay to a Christian dealer.

The Government had not abandoned the idea of promoting agriculture among its Jewish subjects. In 1804, it assigned territory for this purpose in New Russia, and in 1810, between three and four thousand persons of both sexes had been transplanted, at their own request, to farms in the Government of Cherson. The establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies continued down to 1860. Similar attempts were made in Siberia, in the Governments of Tomsk and Omsk.

It was altogether impossible, considering the circumstances in which they were made, that such attempts should generally succeed. In the first place, instead of establishing the Jewish colonies in neighbouring territories, they were transported to distant places, whose climate they were quite unaccustomed to. Belonging to the poorest classes, and already debilitated by suffering, they had to undergo the privations of long and toilsome journeys. Then, also, they were ignorant of agriculture, and without agricultural implements, houses, and utensils, and they were set down in the midst of deserts, on a barren soil which required to be treated by the most experienced methods. Of course, mortality and disease made severe ravages among the colonists. As almost anyone could have foreseen, the experiments hopelessly failed, while the officials charged to carry them out did their best to contribute to the failure. The Government allowed 175 roubles to each family, thirty being given to the colonists themselves, and the remainder kept in hand by the administration for the purchase of houses and agricultural implements. But so corrupt were the administrators that everything they provided was worthless. Some of the houses were not big enough to receive a middle-sized man ; many of them fell to pieces as soon as they were set up. The settlers suffered terribly from cold and damp and scurvy. Those who went to Siberia were cruelly

treated by the officers in charge of them, and on arriving at their destination, perished in great numbers, having received neither the corn nor live stock that had been promised them.

A new law, marking an epoch in the history of Russian Jews, was promulgated in 1835. While embodying the substance of previous legislation concerning them it marked a new departure in their treatment, which has continued in force down to the present day. The characteristic of this enactment was that it distinguished the Jews as a class apart from other Russians. For the ordinary Russian, what was not actually prohibited was assumed to be permitted, but for the Jew, what was not expressly permitted was illegal. It is this enactment which has confined Jews to the Pale of Settlement, prohibited them from acquiring or managing landed property, and ordered that every Jew, even if he would live in a village, must be enrolled as member of an urban community of his co-religionists. Even Jewish villagers were to be separated from the Christian inhabitants. Jews were to be taxed collectively. Their conscriptions to the army were to be furnished in the same way. In each case the *Kahal* ("Jewish congregation"), was liable to the Government. Moreover, the Government expressly authorised these congregations to draft into the army every Jew who had rendered himself obnoxious to his community. Thus Jewish congregations had forced upon them almost unlimited powers over their members. Such arbitrary authority must necessarily lead to tyranny and abuse, and it is to this circumstance that we must look for the origin of the powers and secret proceedings (largely mythical) that have often been attributed to the Russian *Kahal*.<sup>1</sup> Further, the law of 1835 gave Jews who had completed their University studies the right of entering the service of the State, after the consent of the Emperor had been obtained in each case.

Numerous exceptions to the laws in favour of the Jews continued to be made. But being prompted by expediency they were of a temporary nature, and liable to be revoked as soon as they ceased to benefit the Christian population. Thus the right accorded in 1819 to Jewish distillers to settle in the interior of Russia, which had need of them, was revoked seven years later. Jewish artisans were expelled from Nicolaiev in 1829, and recalled in 1830, when they were found to be indispensable. In 1846, Jewish workmen were allowed to settle temporarily, and as long as they were needed, in the North-Eastern ports of the Black Sea. Finally, the laws of March 16th, 1859,

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<sup>1</sup> See correspondence in the *Guardian* of January 14th and 21st, 1891, on "The Jews in Russia." The institution of *Kahal* was suppressed in 1845 (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. iv., p. 314).

November 27th, 1861, and June 28th, 1865, authorised Jewish merchants of the first guild and University students who had gained diplomas to reside anywhere in the Empire, and the law of 1865 set forth the intention of improving the status of Jewish artisans.

An enactment of 1867 permitted Jewish soldiers, retired or on unlimited leave, to settle anywhere in the Empire, but since the promulgation of the decree of 1874, which makes military service obligatory on all males, Jewish soldiers have been deprived of the privilege under the pretext that the decree of 1874 makes no mention of it. A law of 1879 authorises Jewish chemists to live in the interior of Russia, but it has been interpreted in such a way that they are only allowed to settle there on condition of not exercising their profession.<sup>1</sup>

It was by a law passed in 1876 that Jews were prohibited from living within 50 versts of the Western frontier. The law was given a retrospective force. By enactments, dated 1864 and 1865, Jews were prohibited from acquiring, renting, or managing lands in the governments of the North-East and South-West. The famous May Laws (3rd May, 1882) prohibited their quitting the villages in which they had been residing, except to establish themselves in the towns, and disallowed their acquiring, renting, or managing any fresh estates from that date. This legislation has produced a frightful congestion of Jews in the Pale, parts of which contain 2,730 Jews to the square mile, while in other districts of Russia the average population (except in five Governments) varies from 473 to 816 to the square mile.

All official reports and all travellers and statisticians protest against this congestion. It was already noticed by Desjavine, in the reign of the Emperor Paul, and in a ukase addressed to Privy-Councillor Popoff in 1809. In 1817 it was found necessary to exempt Jews from payment of arrears of fines. In the same year Prince Galitzin addressed the Senate on "the extreme misery" of this people. In 1865 the governors of various districts within the Pale described how Jewish workmen were without even employment. M. Lablotzki has shown in his statistical studies that while the mortality of Christians within the Pale rose between 1840 and 1843 by 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., that of the Jews increased 37 per cent.

Prince Démidoff concludes this most instructive historical sketch by exposing the hollowness of the exploitation cry by which it is sought to justify the measures taken against the Jews, and he urges that the only remedy for the situation is the abolition of all exceptional laws against this section of the Russian population.

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<sup>1</sup> This decision was, however, reversed by a decision of the Senate of November 15th, 1883.



From the pen of the editor himself we have, besides notes to various parts of the books, some profound statistical studies of the utmost possible importance for the understanding of the Jewish question. We gather that the Jewish population of Russia in 1881 was about four and a-quarter millions, and in 1886 about four and a-half millions, being 5 per cent. of the non-Jewish population. But the contingent of Jews called out to military service constituted more than 6 per cent. of the non-Jewish population, and the number actually incorporated into the army exceeded  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The Jewish population does not appear to have increased since the latter date. Possibly it has diminished, yet in 1889 the number of Jews enrolled reached  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. So that in proportion to their numbers Jews furnish an excessive contingent to the army, a circumstance which is calculated to encourage desertion.

On the subject of Jewish deserters, M. Loeb calls our attention to some striking facts. The statistics show that the bulk of this class are furnished by four out of the fifteen Governments which comprise the Pale of Settlement, viz., Bessarabia, Volhynia, Kovno, and Podolia. These departments contribute two-thirds of the Jewish deserters, although their quota to the army is less than a half of the Jewish contingent of the fifteen Governments. Now, one of these four Governments—Bessarabia—has only recently been incorporated into the Russian Empire, and is inhabited by another race, and this partially explains the abnormal number of deserters belonging to these four Governments, so that, making allowance for this circumstance, the proportion of Jewish deserters is really less than it appears. And there are other qualifying circumstances to be taken into consideration. Several of the so-called Jewish desertions are really cases of emigration. How considerable has been the influx of Jewish immigrants to America and England in recent years everyone knows. To New York alone, from 1884 to 1890, it amounted to 110,000.<sup>1</sup> Again, a Jew is often entered on the conscription registers more than once. He will sometimes be inscribed for his birth-place, and as many times as he has changed his residence. But as he can only be enrolled in the army once, he appears as a deserter in respect of each of the other registrations. Sometimes even deceased Jews remain on the conscription-roll, and, not answering to their summonses, are entered as deserters. Occasionally, also, women with apparently male names, are registered for military service.

M. Loeb likewise adduces statistics on the number of Jewish artisans, which go to show that the supposed dislike of Jews for manual labour is not based on fact, and that Russia contains

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<sup>1</sup> Reports of the "United Hebrew Charities" of New York.

a larger relative number of Jewish than of non-Jewish artisans. In some provinces Jews are the only workmen. In Odessa, Jewish workmen are to other Jews in the proportion of one to thirteen, while Christian workmen form but one twenty-ninth of their community.

Thus it is with other accusations against the Russian Jews. As general statements they pass muster, but no sooner are they examined in the light of statistics than they collapse. Take *e.g.*, the question of liquor-shops, which are said to be entirely in the hands of the Jews, who employ them to demoralise the general community. Since the manufacture of spirits has ceased to be a monopoly of the nobles, and has become subject to excise, it appears from the work of Prince Démidoff, already referred to (Vol. III.), that the taxes on spirits have increased by 17 per cent. in Great Russia, where there are scarcely any Jews, and by only 2 per cent. in the Pale of Settlement. The quantity of alcohol manufactured has *increased* by more than 60 per cent. in Great Russia, and *diminished* by 8 per cent. in the Pale. The number of distillers has *increased* by 45 per cent. in Great Russia, and *diminished* by 34 per cent. in the Pale. The deaths from alcoholic poison (according to the report of the Minister of Finances), were, between the years 1858 and 1862, far less, in proportion to the population, in the Pale of Settlement than in Great Russia. When, in 1844, the Jews were expelled from the villages, the consumption of brandy immediately rose by about 50 per cent., the price rising in the same proportion.<sup>1</sup>

M. Loeb has similar statistical notes on Jewish commercial morality, on Jewish artisans, soldiers, and merchants, on the physiological deterioration of the Russian Jews, on their housing, and various other matters that enter into the consideration of the Russo-Jewish problem; and he brings the work to a close with an exhaustive index of the subjects treated of. We take leave of this deeply learned and interesting compilation with regret. To all who feel an absorbing interest in the fate of the Russian Jews it will prove of value, while those who wish to master the complicated Jewish question will find it indispensable to their researches.

ISIDORE HARRIS.

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<sup>1</sup> *Aktenmässige Darstellung des jüdischen Zustände in Russland.* Hannover, 1883, pp. 6, 7.